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Bird-women on the Harpy Monument from Xanthos, Lycia: sirens or harpies?

Catherine Draycott

Eleni along with Yannis Galanakis initiated the first series of Graduate Classical Archaeology Work in Progress seminars at Oxford in 2004, to which I delivered some ideas about the iconography of the Harpy Monument – one of the largest tomb memorials in Lycia, a wealthy and unique region of south west Turkey (figs. 1 and 2). At that time, I addressed two aspects of the Harpy Monument's iconography: the 'enthronement scenes' shown on all four sides of the monument, where several different figures are shown seated and approached by other standing figures, and what I considered to be subsidiary images of what are usually now termed 'sirens' – half woman, half bird creatures – shown carrying off diminutive females, framing the 'enthronements' on the north and south sides of the tomb (figs. 3 - 6).

I offer here some thoughts on these perhaps subsidiary but in no sense insignificant mythological figures. My objective is to suggest that the now orthodox interpretation as sirens conveying the souls of the deceased gives a misleadingly benign impression, and that the original label 'harpies' may be more appropriate.

Lycian pillar tombs and the Harpy Monument

The Harpy Monument is a tall 'pillar' tomb – a type of tomb unique to Lycia and which proliferated in the later sixth through the fifth centuries BC, with a few late examples being erected even later, in the fourth century when other tomb types predominated. In the early stages the only other competing tomb types in the region were a few tumuli and the pillar tombs

were low in number.¹ This rarity, along with the proximity of the stone pillar tombs to the settlements supports the supposition that they memorialised a particular class of person. The exact kind of high status these tomb owners held is not understood, but they are usually referred to as 'dynasts' – a shorthand term which implies a place somewhere between aristocrat and ruler.²

Out of the fifty or so pillar tombs, ten or so are known to have carried decorative sculptural friezes around the upper part of the pillars, surrounding the tomb chambers which were carved out of the top.³ Most of these may be the earliest of the tombs; the chronology of the undecorated is difficult to determine from architectural features, but five of the

¹ For tumuli of possible archaic date: Marksteiner, T., "Brand- und Körperbestattung; Tumulus- und Fassadenkammergräber: Überlegungen zu Veränderung der Bestattungsbräuche im vorhellenistischen Lykien", *Lykia* I, (1994), 78 - 88; Kolb, F., "Zur Siedlungsgeschichte von Tüse", in Kolb, F. (ed.), *Lykische Studien 2. Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der Polis Kyaneai in Zentrallykien. Bericht über die Kampagne 1991* (Asia Minor Studien 18; Bonn, 1995), 193 - 203.

² On status and pillar tombs: Zahle, J., "Lycian Tombs and Lycian Cities", in Metzger, H. (ed.), *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique* (Paris, 1980), 37 - 49; Zahle, J., *Arkæologiske studier i lykiske klippgrave og deres relieffer fra c. 550 - 300 f.Kr. Sociale og religiøse aspekter* (Copenhagen, 1983); Bryce, T., "Tombs and Social Hierarchy in Ancient Lycia", *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 18 (1991), 73 - 85; Keen, A.G., "The Tombs of Lycia. Evidence for Social Stratification?", in Campbell, S., and Green, A. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East* (Oxford, 1995), 221 - 225; Borchhardt, J., "Gedanken zur lykischen Gesellschaftsstruktur unter persischer und attischer Herrschaft", in Arsebük, G., Mellink, M.J., and Schirmer, W. (eds.), *Light on Top of the Black Hill: Studies Presented to Halet Çambel* (Istanbul, 1998), 155 - 169; Marksteiner, *Trysa*; Draycott, "Definitions".

³ On pillar tombs in general: Deltour-Levie, *Piliers*. Latest count: Marksteiner, *Trysa*.

decorated have reliefs roughly datable to the later sixth century BC. The earliest of the tombs is usually held to be the Lion Tomb from Xanthos, whose sculptures suggest a date around the middle of the sixth century BC, and there are four other tombs with reliefs which are stylistically similar, forming a 'sixth-century group'. The Harpy Monument and perhaps another slightly different-looking pillar tomb with shallow, nearly eroded reliefs from Asaraltı, belong to a second generation of pillar tombs, erected in the early fifth century BC. Most scholars have been satisfied to date the reliefs of the Harpy Monument to around 480-470 BC.⁴

The Harpy Monument stands apart from its predecessors and, if the Asaraltı Tomb is correctly placed at about the same time, its contemporaries too, in terms of size, materials and the programme of its reliefs. Earlier pillar tombs had carried reliefs showing cycles of different 'heroic' activities such as riding, hunting, battle and victorious warriors. The Harpy Monument's reliefs, on imported marble, instead illustrate a cycle of enthroned people of differing genders and ages. I have elsewhere voiced my support of the view that they should represent various members of an 'oikos', or a house, in the dynastic sense.⁵ Hence the Harpy Monument marks a point when the concept of the 'dynast' becomes important in Lycian politics. In the context of a volume dedicated to a talented scholar of vase iconography, it may be fitting to insert here a quick reference to another comparandum which supports that interpretation: the range of images shown on a now lost Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Brygos Painter, preserved in drawings, include elder and younger enthroned men with arming warriors, child 'adorants' and some female attendants.⁶ The cycle is not exactly the same; the cup paintings should be classed with a thematic package well-known in the art of painted vases, called the 'Departure of the Warrior'. Hence the emphasis is on young warriors readying for war, and enthroned women are not included. But in general, the Harpy Monument's reliefs fit into this contemporary repertoire of

depictions of 'princely houses'. The clothing style of the figures shown on the Harpy Monument indicates what a close relationship there was between Attic and Ionian/Lycian art and elite culture in the late archaic period, despite the 'enthronement' connotations, which may have suited the needs of local rulers operating within the Persian Empire.

The eponymous 'Harpies'

As well as the enthroned group in the Harpy Monument's reliefs, the bird-women shown in the corners of the north and south sides of the monument (figs. 5 and 6) also mark a departure from the earlier pillar tomb iconography. There is certainly one and possibly two examples of 'oriental' type 'lion killers' on earlier tombs, but no examples of anything which can really be called 'mythological'.⁷ Later, the Chimaera, a mythological creature killed by the Greek hero Bellerophon in Lycia is shown on Lycian sarcophagi, and this may be connected to local heroic tales with which tomb owners wanted to associate themselves.⁸ But in terms of their identity and their potential significance to Lycians, the bird-women on the Harpy Monument represent more of a puzzle.

'The Harpy Monument' was named by its discoverer Charles Fellows, following his receipt of a letter from sculptor Benjamin Gibson, in which the sculptor proposed that the reliefs depicted the rape of the daughters of Pandareos by the Harpies.⁹ This story is mentioned by Penelope in the *Odyssey* (20.66 – 78; cf. Pausanias 10.30.1), whose grief over the loss of Odysseus drives her to suicidal despair; she wishes she would be snatched away from the world. The Pandarids were, she elaborates, orphans raised by goddesses (Pandareos and his wife having been killed for stealing from Zeus), but were one day before their impending weddings snatched away by the harpies/storm winds. In support of a Lycian connection, Gibson cited Strabo's equation of Pandareos with Pandaros, the warrior prince of the *Iliad*, who may have been Lycian and had a shrine at

⁴ Dating: Demargne, P., *Fouilles de Xanthos I. Les piliers funéraires* (Paris, 1958); Deltour-Levie, *Piliers*; Marksteiner, *Trysa*; Rudolph, *Harpyien-Monument*. On the iconography of the pillar tomb reliefs: Rodenwaldt, G., "Griechische Reliefs in Lykien", *Sitzungsberichten der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 27 (1933), 1028 - 1055; Akurgal, E., *Griechische Reliefs des VI. Jahrhunderts aus Lykien* (Berlin, 1941); Zahle, *Harpyienmonumentet*; Marksteiner, *Trysa*; Rudolph, *Harpyien-Monument*; Draycott, "Definitions".

⁵ Draycott, "Definitions". Cf. Zahle, *Harpyienmonumentet*; Deltour-Levie, *Piliers*, 198 - 200.

⁶ Lost cup by the Brygos Painter, once on the art market in Rome, drawings in the DAI Rome (neg. 75. 1682-4); Sekunda, N., and Hook, R., *Marathon 490 BC: the first Persian invasion of Greece* (Oxford, 2002), 44.

⁷ Lion-killers, on the Lion Tomb from Xanthos and the pillar tomb at Gürses. For illustrations and references of both, see: Draycott, "Definitions".

⁸ Most recently, with references: Benda-Weber, *Lykier und Karer*.

⁹ Fellows, C., *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia, being a journal kept during a second excursion in Asia Minor* (London, 1841), 170 - 172.

Lycian Pinara (Strabo 14.3.5).¹⁰ Hence the reliefs could depict the abduction of the daughters of a Lycian hero.

This initial interpretation was quickly rejected on several grounds.¹¹ First, it was considered that the theme was unsuitable to a grave monument. Although this was presented as a primary reason for rejecting the interpretation proposed by Gibson, it is actually the least compelling. It is now widely accepted that myths can be shown on tombs. For instance, the categorical depiction of the slaying of Medusa is shown in the paintings within the earlier (c.530 BC) tomb chamber at Kızılbey in the Elmalı Plain, an area in the north of Lycia known in antiquity as the Milyad.¹² As mentioned above, the Chimaera, which in Greek myth was slain by the Greek hero Bellerophon, was shown on later Lycian sarcophagi.¹³ Perseus also features as an acroterion sculpture on the later fourth-century temple-type tomb of another Lycian dynast, Perikles of Limyra.¹⁴ Perhaps more pertinent, in the Granicus Plain in northwest Turkey, the death of the Trojan princess Polyxena over the tomb of Achilles is shown on the eponymous Polyxena Sarcophagus, found in 1994.¹⁵ This monumental, striking tomb monument may be slightly earlier or contemporary with the Harpy Monument. There are also well-known examples of mythological themes included in Etruscan tomb paintings and of course on the much later series of

Roman sarcophagi.¹⁶ Often, the themes shown involve unexpected, tragic deaths of youths or girls.

Another not very convincing reason for rejecting Gibson's interpretation is that it does not explain the central 'enthronement' groups. I think most scholars would now accept that there need not be a direct narrative connection between these framing figures and those that they frame, as sphinxes and siren figures shown in Corinthian and early Attic vase-paintings need not directly relate to narrative images they flank. What is significant is that on the Harpy Monument the figures were added in part because the seated male figures on the north and south sides were not accorded an entourage as large as that of the elder male figure shown on the east side, usually considered to be the front and to have faced the agora of the town. This hierarchy appears to have afforded some space on the monument, into which extra images could be inserted.

More compelling are two other problems: first, the conflation of Pandareos and Pandaros – an issue not really raised in the early rejections of Gibson's identification – and second, the fact that the morphology of the figures corresponds better to the established iconography for sirens rather than harpies.

In terms of the first issue, apart from Strabo there is little conflation of Pandareos and Pandaros in ancient literature. The passage from the *Odyssey* that Strabo chooses is odd, considering that it makes no reference to Pandareos being Lycian, yet the *Iliad* does contain indications that Pandaros might be Lycian.¹⁷ Most scholars treat the two figures as separate. On the other hand, some have considered that both may have links with southwest Asia Minor, and there remains the possibility that there was a local tradition which conflated the two men.¹⁸ In the case of the Harpy Monument's iconography, a distinction between the two may have been fuzzy if the main point was the abduction of girls rather than the identity of their father. And this brings us to the question of why there even needs to be a local connection; it is true that at this time the use of myth on tomb monuments is far more restricted than in the period of the Roman sarcophagi, and there can be

¹⁰ The passage in Strabo says: *At the foot of Cragus, in the interior, lies Pinara, one of the largest cities in Lycia. Here Pandarus is held in honor, who may, perhaps, be identical with the Trojan hero, as when the poet says, 'The daughter of Pandareus, the nightingale of the greenwood,' for Pandareus is said to have been from Lycia.* The connection of Pandaros to Lycia is itself debated: LIMC 7, s.v. 'Pandaros' (Canciani, N.).

¹¹ For references to the early refutations, see: Smith, *BM Cat.*, vol. 1, 54 - 60, no. 94; Pryce, *Cat.*, vol. 1.1, 122 - 129, no. B 287.

¹² Mellink, M.J., *Kızılbey: an archaic painted tomb chamber in northern Lycia* (Philadelphia, 1998).

¹³ For Lycian myths see most recently: Benda-Weber, *Lykier und Karer*, esp. 243 - 302.

¹⁴ Borchhardt, J., "Das Heroon von Limyra - Grabmal des lykischen Königes Perikles", *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Archäologischen Anzeiger* (1970), 353 - 390; Borchhardt, J., "Das Heroon von Limyra", *Götter, Heroen, Herrscher in Lykien* (Vienna, 1990), 75 - 78.

¹⁵ Sevinç, N., and Rose, C.B., "A New Sarcophagus of Polyxena from the Salvage Excavations at Gümüşçay", *Studia Troica*, 6 (1996), 251 - 264; Steuernagel, D., "Ein spätarchaischer Sarkophag aus Gümüşçay im Museum von Çanakkale. Ikonographische Beobachtungen", in Rolle, R., and Schmidt, K., (eds.), *Archäologische Studien in Kontaktzonen der antiken Welt* (Göttingen, 1998), 165 - 177; Reinsberg, C., "Der Polyxena-sarkophag in Çanakkale", *Olba*, 4 (2001), 71 - 99, pls. 23 - 26; Ateşlier, S., and Öncü, E., "Gümüşçay Polyksena Lahiti Üzerine Yeni Gözlemler: Mimari ve ikonografik açıdan bakış", *Olba*, 10 (2004), 45 - 87, pls. 4 - 12.

¹⁶ See in the first place: Brilliant, R., *Visual narratives: storytelling in Etruscan and Roman art* (Ithaca, 1986); Steingraber, S. (ed.), *Etruscan Painting: Catalogue raisonné of Etruscan wall painting* (English edn., New York, 1986); Steuernagel, D., *Menschenopfer und Mord am Altar. Griechische Mythen in etruskischen Gräbern* (Wiesbaden, 1998); Zanker, P., and Ewald, B.C., *Mit Mythen leben. Die Bilderwelt der römischen Sarkophage* (Munich, 2004).

¹⁷ See n. 10 above.

¹⁸ *RE*, s.v. 'Pandaros'.

strong local links, as in the Polyxena Sarcophagus. But theoretically, the Pandarids do not have to be Lycian princesses for their tragic story to be relevant to a tomb setting.

Perhaps the most convincing reason for rejecting the identification of the bird-women shown on the Harpy Monument as ‘harpies’ is that their form – the heads, arms and breasts of a human female and bodies of birds – does not correspond to that used to depict harpies, but does correspond to the iconography of sirens. The literary sources do not provide helpful descriptions of either creature, and it is true that in the Roman period they were difficult to distinguish.¹⁹ But in archaic and classical Greek art, the two tend to be clearly distinguished. Harpies are most often shown stealing the food of Phineas and pursued by the Boreads, as on a Chalcidian cup in Würzburg of about 530 BC and an Attic red-figure hydria, formerly in the Getty Museum of about 480-470 BC.²⁰ They are depicted as winged women. Sirens, as on a famous red-figure stamnos in the British Museum showing Odysseus tied to his ship’s mast as he attempts to resist their song, are depicted as birds with female human heads.²¹ Certainly the figures on the Harpy Monument conform to this iconography. Does this mean, however, that the figures on the Harpy Monument are unequivocally sirens?

Most scholars now favour this identification of the bird women. Furthermore, many follow Buschor’s suggestion that the diminutive figures they are shown carrying represent the souls (*psychai* or *eidola*) of the deceased being transported to the afterlife.²² This implies, however, that the imagery can be safely situated within a tradition of sirens performing such a function, and this is not the case. In fifth-century tragedy sirens are associated with Hades (Euripides, *Helena* 174 – 175; Sophokles *TrGF* IV F861), but there is no indication that they serve as escorts to the land of the dead.²³ Rather, they are described as

inhabiting the underworld. Buschor himself said that the Harpy Monument figures recall a late idea of the sirens as carriers of souls to the aether.²⁴ This is Plato’s idea, discussed in Plutarch’s *Moralia*, that the Sirens, instead of the usual Muses, inhabited spheres of the aether and their song attracted souls. This is explained as the main function of the siren call, and of the effect of their song on the living, who have the urge to release their souls to join the sirens in the aether (Plato, *Politics* 617 b – c and Plutarch, *Moralia* 9.14.745 5 – 6; but cf. Plato, *Kratylos* 403 d – e where they live in the underworld). It is with music that the sirens are most often connected, and their representations tend to emphasise this, including their appearance on tombs, which tends to be later in the fifth century. As far as I know, the only free-standing archaic figure of a siren, which could have come from a tomb, is found in the area of the Granicus Plain (near the find place of the Polyxena Sarcophagus, although the precise location is unknown), and now in Copenhagen.²⁵ She is shown holding a lyre. On fifth- and fourth-century Attic grave stelai sirens become more frequent, but they are shown lamenting, often with musical instruments.²⁶

Furthermore, there is no strong tradition of souls or *eidola* being transported by supernatural creatures. *Eidola*, when shown in archaic and classical Greek vase-painting, tend to be shown in the context of the deaths of heroes.²⁷ They are shown as tiny males, often dressed in armour or winged. Sometimes the Harpy Monument figures are described as *psychai*, but *psychai* also have a separate, unrelated iconographic tradition.²⁸

There is, however, a tradition of small figures, usually nude youths, being ravished and abducted by

¹⁹ LIMC 4, s.v. ‘Harpyai’ (Kahil, L., and Jacquemin, A.); LIMC 8, s.v. ‘Seirenes’ (Hofstetter, E., and Krauskopf, I.); also LIMC 6, s.v. ‘Odysseus’ 943 – 970, esp. 962 – 964 (Touchefeu-Meynier, O.).

²⁰ Chalcidian cup, the ‘Phineus Cup’, Martin von Wagner Museum L164, from Vulci(?), c. 530 BC: LIMC 4, s.v. ‘Harpyai’ 14*; Attic red-figure hydria, formerly Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.316, c. 480 – 470 BC: LIMC 4, s.v. ‘Harpyai’ 9*.

²¹ London, BM 1843.11-3.31, from Vulci, c. 475 – 460 BC: ARV² 289.1; Add² 210; LIMC 6, s.v. ‘Odysseus’ 155*. Cf. also 152* and 153* in the same entry.

²² Buschor *Musen*, esp. 36 – 38; Berger, *Artzrelief*, Vermeule, *Aspects of Death*, 170, although she calls them harpies; Borchhardt, J., ‘Kunst in Lykien’, *Götter, Heroen, Herrscher in Lykien* (Vienna, 1990), 45 – 49; Rudolph, *Harpyien-Monument*, 31. An exception is Zahle, who recognises, as here, an abduction motif suited to a tomb: Zahle, *Harpyienmonumentet*, 74 – 75.

²³ LIMC 8, s.v. ‘Seirenes’ (Hofstetter, E. and Krauskopf, I., on Etruria); Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, 22 – 24.

²⁴ Buschor, *Musen*, 37, but he gives no source. Hofstetter refers to Weicker’s likening of sirens to the Egyptian Ba birds: Weicker, G., *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst: eine mythologisch-archaeologische Untersuchung* (Leipzig, 1902); Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, 22 – 24.

²⁵ Siren statue from the Granicus Plain region, c. 550 BC (?): LIMC 8, s.v. ‘Seirenes’ (Hofstetter, E.) 37*; Johansen, F., *Greece in the Archaic Period. Catalogue*, NY Carlsberg Glyptotek (Copenhagen, 1994) 44 – 46.

²⁶ Woysch-Méautis, D., *La représentation des animaux et des êtres fabuleux sur les monuments funéraires grecs de l’époque archaïque à la fin du IV^e siècle av JC* (Lausanne, 1982); Hofstetter, *Sirenen*, 151 – 185.

²⁷ LIMC 8, s.v. ‘Eidola’ (Vollkommer, R.); Peifer, E., *Eidola und andere mit dem Sterben verbundene Flügelwesen in der attischen Vasenmalerei in spätarchaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1989). *Eidola* near graves in fifth century BC white ground lekythoi: Oakley, J.H., *Picturing Death in Classical Athens. The Evidence of the White Lekythoi* (Cambridge, 2004).

²⁸ LIMC 7, s.v. ‘Psychai’ (Icard-Gianolio, N.).

supernatural creatures.²⁹ Often, the figures are sphinxes or griffins, but there are a few examples of siren-like creatures shown in the act of snatching or ravishing diminutive figures.³⁰ There is no reason to identify them as ‘souls’ rather than mortals. Most of the examples are not from funerary contexts. The fact that the reliefs on the Harpy Monument belong with these images of abduction, rather than showing a benign relationship between girls and sirens, which some have argued, is revealed by the gestures of the girls.³¹ Some being carried off have their hands to the chins of the creatures – a classic gesture of supplication, and the distress of the situation is clearly emphasised by the attitude of the girl on her knees on the north side (fig. 5).

The Harpy Monument’s reliefs clearly show an abduction. In this context, the choice of theme is unusual, as are some of the particularities of these images. Although there are many abduction images, they are not often shown on tombs. Secondly, abductions by ‘siren’-like figures are relatively rare. Thirdly, the Harpy Monument is unusual in depicting the abduction of young girls rather than male youths. Their abduction by winged figures closely corresponds to the Pandarid myth.

Conclusion

Because the form of the snatching figures shown on the Harpy Monument did not correspond with the established iconography of harpies, any relationship with the Pandarid myth was rejected in favour of an interpretation which tried to accommodate sirens. In

fact, this has resulted in the invention of a new tradition of sirens carrying the souls of the deceased, which is not supported outside of the Harpy Monument’s reliefs themselves. My objective has been to argue for an abduction story like the Pandarid myth rather than a depiction of an otherwise unattested eschatological belief. In this respect, the Harpy Monument’s bird-women have more in common with snatching harpies than musical sirens.

This reading places the reliefs in a wider context of the use of myth on tomb monuments, but the new inclusion of mythological elements in the repertoire of the pillar tomb reliefs and the choice of this particular iconography is highly unusual and cannot easily be explained by locating the Pandarid myth in Lycia. It is perhaps not necessary to see the Pandarid myth specifically, rather than something similar for which we do not have a literary counterpart. The appearance of a ‘siren’ on another, early classical Lycian monument, perhaps a tomb, as well as on coins of Lycia means that this creature may have had some special significance in Lycia, which governed the choice of myth.³² Generally, however, one can say that the inclusion of the abduction motif shows a new desire to participate in a wider practice of using mythological tragedy as a euphemism for the unexpected loss of a loved one – a southern counterpart to the sacrifice of Polyxena on the near contemporary, unusually grand sarcophagus from the Troad. On the Harpy Monument, this sentiment is alluded to in subsidiary elements of the overall programme. The other more prominent reliefs celebrate life and accomplishments, and this is how I remember Eleni.

²⁹ Good examples in: Jacobsthal, P., *Die melischen Reliefs* (Berlin, 1930); Boardman, *Classical Phoenician scarabs*; Stilp, F., *Die Jacobstahl-Reliefs. Konturierte Tonreliefs aus dem Griechenland der Frühklassik* (Rome, 2006).

³⁰ LIMC 8, s.v. ‘Seirenes’ (Hofstetter E. and Krauskopf, I.), 72 – 75* and 123 – 126*. See also a Phoenician gem in: Boardman, *Classical Phoenician Scarabs*, 35, 1 and 2. I thank Sir John Boardman for referring me to this last.

³¹ Smith, *BM Cat.* 58; Berger, *Artzrelief*, 136; Vermeule, *Aspects of Death*, 170. Cf. Zahle on the likening to ‘seduction’ scenes: Zahle, *Harpyionumentet*, 75.

³² Siren Gable from Building F: London, British Museum B 289, c. 460 BC, limestone, H. 0.83 m. Pryce, *Cat. vol. 1.1*, pp. 130 – 131, B 289, pl. 125; Metzger, H., *Fouilles de Xanthos 2. L’acropole Lycienne* (Paris, 1963), 71 – 84, figs 25 – 27, pl. 48.72; Bruns-Özgan, C., *Lykische Reliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Tübingen, 1987), pp. 29 and 258, cat. M256, pl. 253.252; Rudolph, *Harpyien-Monument*, pp. 59 – 61 pl. 38. Sirens on coins: Vismara, N., “Evidenze religiose sulla monetazione arcaica della Lycia. Elementi per una prima discussione”, *Transeuphratène*, 23 (2002), 101 – 128.

Abbreviations

- Add*² Carpenter, T., Mannack, T., and Mendonça, M., *Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV² and Paralipomena* (Oxford, 1989, 2nd edn.).
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von Pauly, A.F., *Pauly's Real Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 15 vols., plus supp., rev. G. Wissowa (Stuttgart and Munich, 1894 - 1912).
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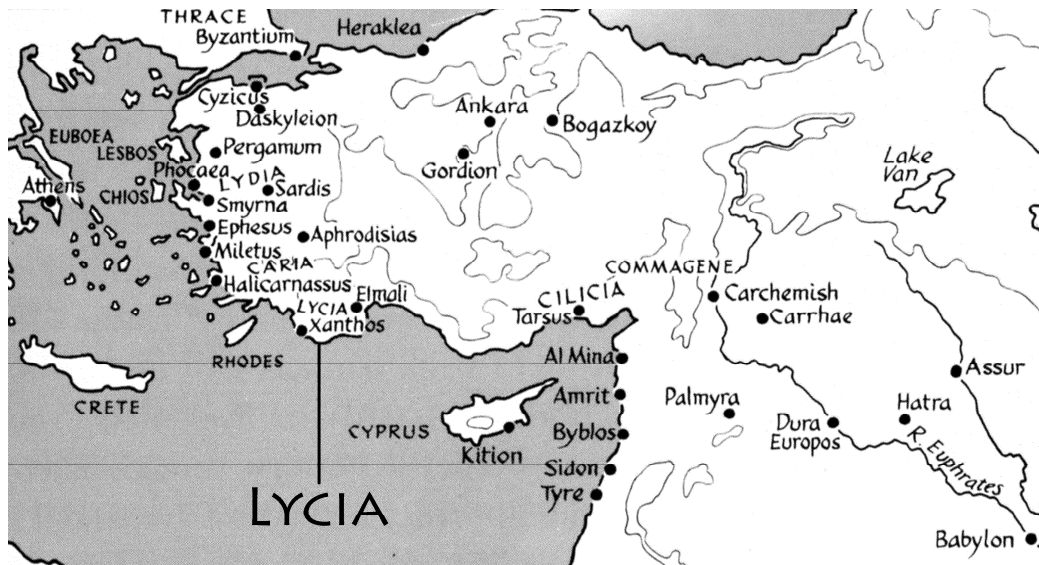


Fig. 1. Map of the eastern Mediterranean, showing the location of Lycia.
After Boardman, J., *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity* (London, 1994), map 1, p. 21.



Fig. 2. Photograph of the agora zone at Xanthos, showing the pillar tomb known as the 'Harpy Monument' in the background, with a hybrid sarcophagus-pillar tomb on its left.
Photograph: author.

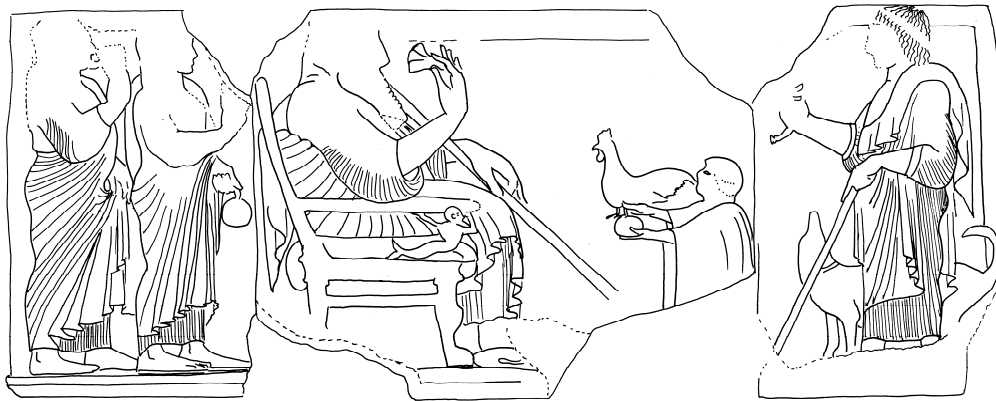


Fig. 3. Drawing of the east side relief from the Harpy Monument at Xanthos, showing an enthroned elder man with attendants, confronted by a child and youth.
Drawing: author.



Fig. 4. Drawing of the west side relief from the Harpy Monument at Xanthos, showing enthroned women and three korai.
Drawing: author.

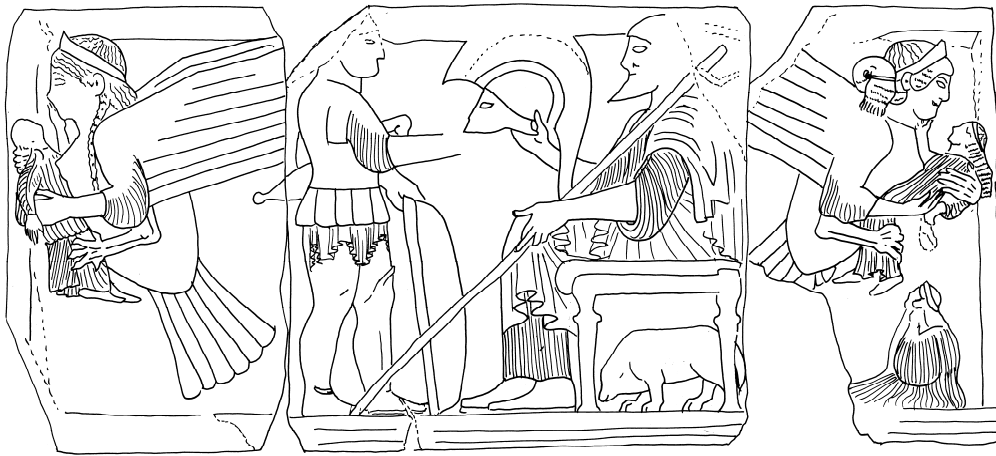


Fig. 5. Drawing of the north side relief from the Harpy Monument, showing a seated man and standing youthful warrior in the centre, flanked by two 'siren'-like figures carrying off girls. One girl kneels on the ground in a gesture of distress.
Drawing: author.



Fig. 6. Drawing of the south side relief from the Harpy Monument, showing man a seated 'youth' confronted by another youthful person holding a gift, both flanked by another pair of 'siren'-like figures carrying off small girls.
Drawing: author.